

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 SAB-01 AID-05

SAJ-01 /106 W

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R 221420Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4207

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY LIMA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4997

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT YO

SUBJECT: WHITHER NON-ALIGNMENT --A YUGOSLAV VIEW

1. SUMMARY: EDVARD KARDELJ-- POSSIBLE FRONTRUNNER TO SUCCEED TITO AND ONE OF MOST SEMINAL AND INFLUENTIAL THINKERS OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT -- ATTEMPTED SET FORTH NEW PHILOSOPHIC BASIS FOR NON-ALIGNMENT IN SEPTEMBER 12 SPEECH. CONCERNED THAT AN INCREASINGLY DETENTE-ORIENTED WORLD COULD LOWER BARRIERS TO NEW DIVISION OF WORLD AMONG MAJOR POWERS, THAT MULTI-POLARITY THREATENS WITH IRRELEVANCY A MOVEMENT ORIGINALLY DEFINED IN TERMS OF OPPOSITION TO TWO BLOCS (NON-ALIGNMENT "NOT ENTIRELY CONFIDENTIAL

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ADEQUATE NAME") AND THAT THE VERY GROWTH OF NON-ALIGNMENT

HAS SOWN THE SEED SOF ITS DIVERSITY AND POSSIBLE
DISSOLUTION, KARDELJ STRIVES TO PROVIDE A NEW RATIONALE
AND A NEW SET OF GOALS.

2. OF COURSE BASIC QUESTION IS HOW FAR HE SUCCEEDS.
IN OUR JUDGMENT HE HAS SET HIMSELF IMPOSSIBLI INTELLECTURAL
TAKS IN TRYING TO UNITE INHERENTLY DIVERSE GROUP OF
NATIONS AROUND A PHILOSOPHY GOVERNING INTERNAL AS WELL
AS EXTERNAL POLICY. WHILE PERHAPS GOING FARTHER THAN ANY
NON-ALIGNED THEORETICIAN BEFORE HIM, THERE IS STILL
LESS HERE THAN MEETS THE EYE--OR IN GERTRUDE STEINS'S
WORDS "THER IS NO THERE THERE". END SUMMARY.

3. IN THIS SPEECH KARDELJ IN EFFECT SETS FORTH THREE
FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGES:

TO THE EAST, IN STYLE OF MARXIST IDEOLOGICAL TREATIESE,
KARDELJ CASTS NON-ALIGNMENT IN ROLE OF NEW SOCIALIST
INTERNATIONAL. WITH FORCE OF HISTORICAL IMPERATIVE,
MOVEMENT IS SAID TO BE BUILDING SOCIALISM AMONG NON-
ALIGNED OUTSIDE MOSCOW-DOMINTED FOLD. HE CLAIMS LARGE
MAJORITY OF NON-ALIGNED HAVE ONE BASIC SOCI-HISTORIC
TENDENCY IN COMMON--STRENGTHENING OF STATE OR STATE OWNER-
SHIP AND A GREATER OR LESSER ORIENTATION TOWARDS
SOCIALISM. BUT HE CLAIMS FOR THE NON-ALIGNED BRAND OF
SOCILISM A DIFFERENT, EVEN SUPERIOR QUALITY. IN THIS
REGARD HIS CHALLENGE TO SOVIETS IS EXPLICIT: "NON-ALIGN-
MENT CANNOT BE REDUCED TO SOME SORT OF POLITICAL RESERVE
FOR SOCIALISM OR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT
BUT IS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL COMPONENTS IN THE
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF HUMANITY IN OUR TIMES AND,
HENCE, OF SOCIALISM ITSELF, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING
THAT EVEN PRESENT-DAY SOCIALIST SYSTEMS ARE NOT
ENTIRELY FREE OF VESTIGES OF EARLIER SYSTEMS IN WHICH
THEY ORIGINATED AND INTERNAL CONFLICTS OF INTEREST WHICH
GIVE RISE TO BOTH HEGEMONISTIC AND EGOTISTICAL NATIONALIST
TENDENCIES" (READ SOVIET UNION).

TO THE DEVELOPED NATIONS, PRIMARILY THE WEST,
WHILE DENYING CHARGE THAT NON-ALIGNED ARE OR COULD BECOME
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BLOC, KARDELJ DEMANDS GREATER SHARE OF WORLD'S
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PIE AND IN FACT ALREADY
SEES SOME "CHANGE IN POWER RELATIONS IN PRESENT-DAY
WORLD". HE ASSERTS NON-ALIGNED STRENGTHENING OF THEIR
POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA IS LATEST STAGE IN HISTORIC
PROCESS. WHICH BEGAN WITH STRUGGLES OF COLONIAL NATIONS
TO WIN POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE FROM FORMER MASTERS
AND THEIR LATER EFFORTS TO BREAK EMBRACE OF NEO-

COLONIALIST ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION. MOVEMENT ALSO
ENABLED AND ENABLES NEWLY-EMERGED NATIONS TO RESIST
ENLISTMENT INTO BLOC RIVARRIES: "IN GIVING SUPPORT
TO PEOPLES PUTTING UP RESISTANCE TO POLICIES OF
DOMINATION AND PRESSURES, NON-ALIGNED ACTION BECOMES
A VITAL OBSTACLE TO ANY TRANSFORMATION OF WHAT IS
KNOWN AS THE 'THIRD WORLD' INTO THE ECONOMIC APPENDAGE
OF THE DEVELOPED PART OF THW WORLD, INTO AN OBJECT
OF EXPLOITATION OR AN OBJECT IN THE POWER STRUGGLE
BETWEEN THE BLOCS." NON-ALIGNED STRUGGLE FOR GREATER
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
CONTINUES INEXORABLY. THUS MOVEMENT "POSSESSES,
ON THE WHOLE, THE INHERENT LONG-TERM CONSISTENCY AND
FORCE CHARACTERISTIC OF ALL HISTORICAL IMPERATIVES."

TO FELLOW NON-ALIGNED--JUST AS KARDELJ URGES WEST
TO UNDERSTAND HISTORICAL IMPERATIVE OF DEVELOPING
NON-ALIGNED NATIONS ASSERTING THEIR IDENTITY AND
POWER--HE ALSO URGES NON-ALIGNED TO COMPREHEND
INEVITABILITY OF GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG ALL
NATIONS, TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY WHICH INTERDEPENDENCE
ENTAILS, TO ESCHEW UNREALISTIC TIME-TABLE OF
REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE AND ACCEPT INSTEAD EVOLUTION TO
MORE EQUITABLE WORLD ORDER. HE ASSERTS THAT "TWO
RELATED TENDENCIES ARE TAKING SHAPE IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF A MODERN WORLD SOCIETY. THESE ARE THE PROCESS
OF EMANCIPATION OF NATIONS AND THE PROCESS OF THEIR
DEEPENING INTERDEPENDENCE, RESPONSIBILITY AND
JOINING TOGETHER, THAT IS INTEGRATION. UNDER THE
PRESSURE OF CONFLICTS RESULTING FROM DIFFERENT ECONOMIC,
NATIONAL AND CLASS, INTERNATIONAL-POLITICAL, BLOC
AND OTHER INTERESTS, THESE TWO TENDENCIES OFTEN COME TO BE
FELT AS CONTRADICTORY, PROVOKING MORE OR LESS DEEP
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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ANTAGONISMS IN THE
MODERN WORLD. THE TASK OF NON-ALIGNMENT IS NOT AND
CANNOT BE TO TAKE ANY SORT OF A PRIORI POSITION
AGAINST TRANS-NATIONAL OR REGIONAL OR OTHER SIMILAR
INTEGRATIONS, BUT RATHER TO FIND WASY FOR CHANGING
OR ELIMINATING THOSE PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC
RELATIONS WITHIN SUCH INTEGRATIONS WHICH ALLOW THEM
TO BE INSTRUMENTS OF EXPLOITATION, NEOCOLONIALISM,
IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONY."

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ACTION IO-10

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4997

3. COMMENT: CONSCIOUS THAT THEIR GROWING NUMBERS
AND WIDELY VARYING VIEWS--FROM COMMUNIST CUBA
ON ONE EXTREME TO FEUDALIST SAUDI ARABIA ON THE
OTHER--THREATEN NON-ALIGNED NATIONS' UNITY, THE
"MOVEMENT'S" MEANING AND ITS VERY FUTURE, KARDELJ
IS STRIVING AGAINST HEAVY ODDS TO PICK OUT SOME COMMON
THREADS. HE HAS CREATED FOR THEM A THREE-POINT PRO-
GRAM: THEIR OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM, THEIR INCREASING
SHARE OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH AND POWER, THEIR ACCEPTANCE
OF AND AGGRESSIVE ATTEMPTS TO SHAPE AN INCREASINGLY
INTERPENDENT GLOBE. WHILE THIS PURPORTS TO BE
AND COULD BECOME A PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT FOR THE NON-
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ALIGNED AS A WHOLE, EACH OF ITS THREE TENETS PROCEEDS FROM YUGOSLAVIA'S SPECIAL CONDITION AND CONCERNS. FIRST, KARDELJ IS THE AUTHOR OF YUGOSLAVIA'S OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM--SELF-MANAGEMENT--WHICH WOULD ACHIEVE GREATER LEGITIMACY AND FORCE IF PART OF A LARGER NON-ALIGNED ROAD TO SOCIALISM. IN FACT, THE YUGOSLAVS ARE ALWAYS CONCERNED THAT AS A EUROPEAN AND NEARLY DEVELOPED COUNTRY THEY WILL BE EXCLUDED FROM THE "THIRD WORLD" - WHICH KARDELJ REFERS TO AS "SO-CALLED" AND ATTEMPTS TO DENIGRATE BY STATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ONLY ONE ASPECT OF NON-ALIGNED. SECOND, YUGOSLAVIA'S NIGHTMARE AND CENTRAL SECURITY CONCERN IS THAT A LOWERING OF TENSIONS AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS COULD RESULT IN A NEW DIVISION OF THE WORLD IN WHICH YUGOSLAVIA MIGHT BE LET TO THE SOVIETS--A FATE WHICH CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED BY A STRENGTHENING OF THE NON-ALIGNED AND A WEAKENING OF THE TWO MAJOR BLOCS. AT SAME TIME KARDELJ CONSCIOUS THAT, WHILE ACCOMMODATION AND ACHIEVEMENT OF BALANCE OF POWER AMONG MAJOR POWERS NOT AN ADEQUATE GOAL, "A VIOLENT UPSETTING OF THIS BALANCE WOULD BRING MANKIND TO THRESHOLD OF NEW WORLD WAR". THUS HE DOES NOT PRESS FOR EARLY DISSOLUTION OF BLOCS. THIRD, YUGOSLAVIA IS DRIVEN BY ITS ECONOMIC STAKE IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD AND ITS OWN INCREASINGLY DEVELOPED STATUS TO BRING THE OTHER NON-ALIGNED TO RECOGNIZE THE INEVITABILITY AND IMPLICATIONS OF INTERDEPENDENCE. WE ARE PARTICULARLY STRUCK IN THIS REGARD BY THE MODERATION KARDELJ IS COUNSELING TO THE NON-ALIGNED. THUS, THE YUGOSLAV DRIVE AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION FOR CONCRETE AGREEMENTS RATHER THAN RHETORICAL CONFRONTATION.

4. KARDELJ REPORTEDLY WORKED ON SPEECH FOR MONTHS AND CONSIDERS IT ONE OF HIS MOST IMPORTANT. BY MAKING MAJOR SPEECHES ON TWO FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF YUGOSLAV DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY WITHIN A SINGLE WEEK (HE SPOKE ON "SELF-MANAGEMENT" IN DUBROVNIK ON SEPTEMBER 9, HE HAS CLEARLY SIGNALED HIS RE-EMERGENCY AFTER A PERIOD OF ILL HEALTH AS AN ACTIVE AND MAJOR FORCE IN YUGOSLAV POLITICS. NEWSMEN AND DIPLOMATS WHO TALKED WITH HIM IN DUBROVNIK AND ZAGREB
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SAID HE LOOKED WELL AND SPOKE WITH CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE--PARTICULARLY ABOUT "SELF-MANAGEMENT" AS WAVE OF THE FUTURE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT APPEARS

HE WILL HIMSELF BE PART OF THAT WAVE--AT LEAST IN YUGOSLAVIA AND PROBABLY BEYOND ITS BORDERS AS WELL.
SILBERMAN

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